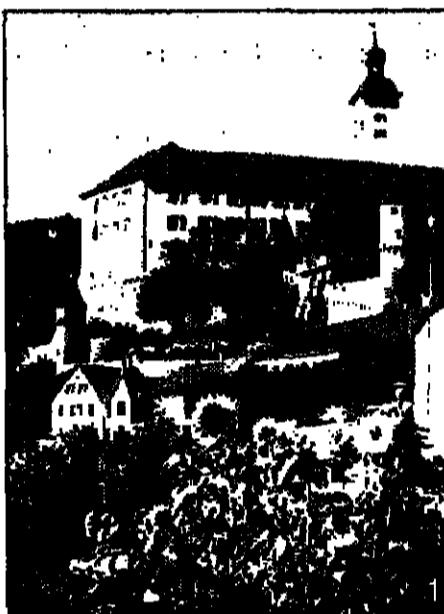
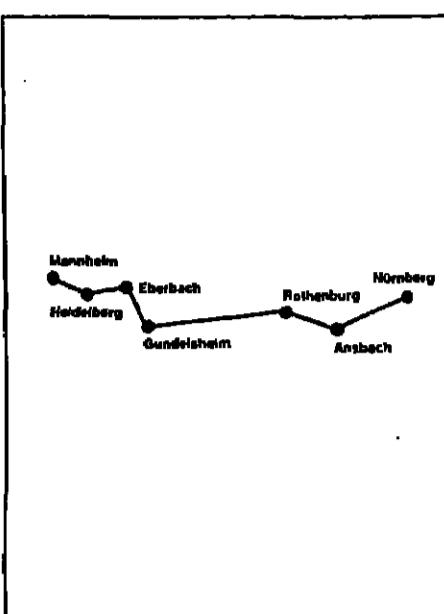


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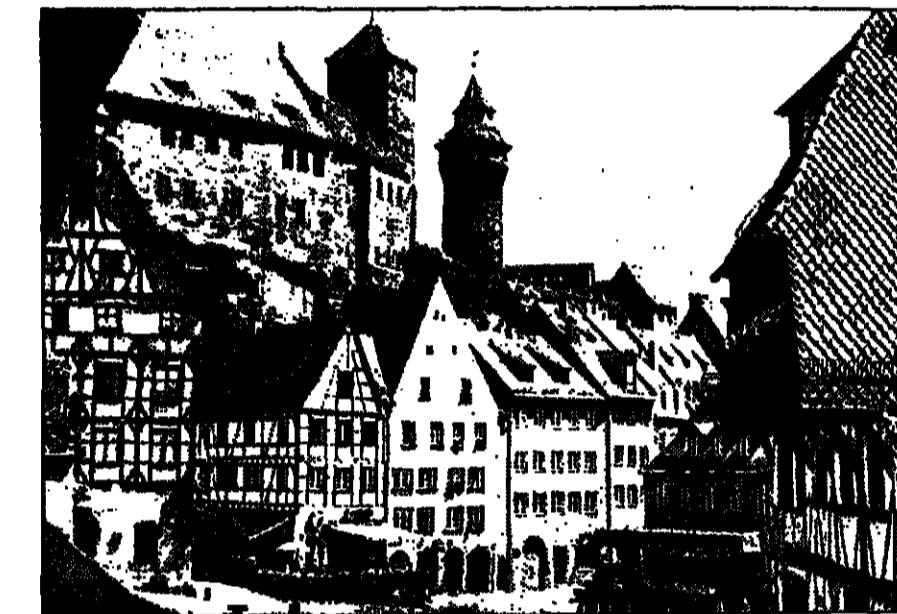
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The Castle Route



The German Tribune

Hamburg, 23 October 1988
Twenty-seventh year - No. 1344 - By air

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Historic reasons behind a vague arms-talks formula

Städtezeitung

Europe has been at peace for over 43 years, yet World War II battlefields still cast their shadows and their spectres stalk conventional troop-cut talks on the continent.

Future chief delegates on both sides, especially German and Soviet officials, are plagued by nightmares in which their World War II defeats are relived.

Goering's Luftwaffe is remembered grinding Soviet soldiers into the ground and enabling Hitler's army to advance to Moscow, says Field-Marshal Akhromeyev, Soviet general staff chief.

That is why he would prefer first to discuss a reduction in air forces — *Nato's*, of course, not his own.

Soviet officers may now be trained in defensive strategy, but there are few signs of the new doctrine being implemented in terms of military hardware.

That is one reason why Nato is behaving in a conservative manner with regard to conventional disarmament as the conservative Soviet chief of general staff, who insists on striking a balance at all stages of the proceedings.

These different wishes have been reconciled in a vague formula agreed for the issues for the proposed Vienna conference on conventional arms control.

But at first both sides will try to ride their respective arms policy hobbyhorses. Hopes that the delegations will not grow old and grey in the Austrian capital, as they have done at the MBFR troop-cut talks, are based solely on Mr Gorbachov's impatience.

He needs swift results if he is to curb arms spending and redirect resources into non-military industry and avoid failure for perestroika.

It was he who laid the groundwork for the proposed talks standing a better chance of making headway than previous rounds of negotiations.

The INF Treaty scrapping medium-range missiles in Europe and the Start talks on halting US and Soviet strategic nuclear weapons have substantially improved the atmosphere of relations between Washington and Moscow.

Mr Gorbachov wants to ensure stability in foreign affairs in order to concentrate on the economic and domestic problems of a gigantic Soviet empire that seems to be growing steadily more unstable.

Since he came to power, arms control has played a larger role than arms build-up in Soviet security policy, and a start has at least been made to change Soviet military doctrine.

Offensive strategy is gradually giving way to a defensive approach based on the principle of "sufficient forces."

In verification, or spot checks to ensure that disarmament treaties are observed, the Russians have at long last overcome the old fears of espionage.

For the first time they not only acknowledge the existence of imbalance and asymmetry in the arms arsenals of the two blocs; they are even prepared to reduce their superiority in certain categories.

Mr Gorbachov first had to overcome his own generals' opposition. Field-Marshal Akhromeyev, who took part in the defence of Leningrad as a young man and describes himself as one of the "last Mothemen" of the Second World War, has for 50 years had instilled into him the advantages of an offensive strategy.

What is more, he gained power and influence at a time when armaments held pride of place in the list of Soviet economic and political priorities.

So he was not an initial supporter of perestroika. He has now accepted the idea of restructuring, but the Red Army clearly still has difficulty in coming to terms with the idea.

Soviet officers may now be trained in defensive strategy, but there are few signs of the new doctrine being implemented in terms of military hardware.

That is one reason why Nato is behaving in a conservative manner with regard to conventional disarmament as the conservative Soviet chief of general staff, who insists on striking a balance at all stages of the proceedings.

Might it not be possible to agree to unconventional terms such as dispensing with modernisation "in return for a drastic, visible and convincing reduction in invasion capability" by the other side?

This idea has been mooted by Bonn Defence Minister Rupert Scholz, who is at least not ruling it out.

President Mitterrand of France also seems prepared to consider an unconventional approach. He is said to be prepared to postpone for two years the introduction of the new Hades short-range missile if the Russians agree to aim at swift results in the Vienna talks.

This offer, incidentally, would only make sense if there were to be an embargo on short-range nuclear missiles in Europe. Hades would then no longer be of military value.

From French territory its range is so limited that it would hardly be suitable for sounding a final warning, and it is unlikely ever to be based in Germany.

Views differed on events in the Soviet Union and other East Bloc nations.

German Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher said the European Community must take Mr Gorbachov's reform bids seriously and use them to improve East-West relations.

A Soviet Union that was more open both internally and externally would be a better and more predictable partner.

British Foreign Secretary Sir Geoffrey Howe is said to have been more sceptical. Britain opposes the proposal, backed in principle by Bonn and Paris, to hold a human rights conference in Moscow, possibly in 1991.

Gerd Höhler
(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, Cologne,
17 October 1988)



THE PRESIDENT of Turkey, Kenan Evren (left) with Bonn President Richard von Weizsäcker at the beginning of a five-day state visit to Germany. Mr Evren, who has been president since 1982, will be promoting Turkey's case for joining the European Community.

Euro ministers welcome Soviet reforms

European Community Foreign Ministers are generally positive about the course of Soviet reforms.

They also think progress is being made at the Helsinki review talks in Vienna.

The ministers, who were meeting in the Greek centre of Loumnia, now plan to draw up, as part of their European Political Cooperation (EPC), a paper outlining the Twelve's joint approach to the CSCE deliberations.

At the same time the European Commission is to draft proposals on economic and trade policy aspects of East-West dialogue for discussion at the next Community summit next month.

Italian diplomats said the impression they had gained in Moscow, where Italian Foreign Minister Giulio Andreotti had met both Mr Gorbachov and Mr Shevardnadze, was that Mr Gorbachov was mainly interested in closer ties with the European Community for economic reasons.

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IN THIS ISSUE

HOME AFFAIRS

Free, Democrats go for experience
and elect Lambdorff as chairman

EAST BERLIN

Communist officials know it's best
to keep the lid shut tight

FINANCE

In search for the meaning of
'social' in the social market economy

FRANKFURT, BOOK FAIR

Peace-prize winner pulls no
punches at ceremony

THE ENVIRONMENT

Warning about levels of
cancer-causing chemicals

HORIZONS

A strange quiet hangs over
the street of violence

Page 3

Page 10

Page 12

Page 14

Page 14

The conflicts between the various ethnic groups in the multiracial state of Yugoslavia have reached a critical stage.

A national Serbian mass movement carried is not only influencing large sections of the population in the most populous Yugoslav republic, Serbia, but is spreading to other regions.

There have been reports of angry demonstrators in Montenegro, where demands were made for the resignation of the local Communist party leaders. Some of the demonstrators were even armed.

President Raif Dizdarevic, a Bosnian with a Moslem background and thus perhaps particularly sensitive to Serbian action, threatened to declare a state of emergency.

The commander of the Ljubljana military district, General Vrsnik, was prompted to come out and say that the army was powerful enough to prevent any attempts to divide the country.

The Slovenes interpreted the words of the general, who belongs to the 75 per cent Serbian majority in the officer corps, as a threat to establish, if need be, a military dictatorship.

End of an era, but not of Pinochet

General Augusto Pinochet could not have been entirely surprised at his defeat in the plebiscite this month. He saw the writing on the wall many years ago and acted.

With an eye on the trend towards democracy in almost all South American countries — Paraguay is the only other country with a dictator — he pieced together a constitution at the beginning of the 1980s which guarantees the military a dominant role in society.

In 1980, Pinochet let the people give approve his constitution and his election as president with a two-thirds majority. But there are still rumours that this vote was not properly organised.

The 1980 plebiscite was for more important for Chile's rulers than the vote this month.

In 1980 the course was mapped out for the coming decades. This time the Chilean people have made it impossible for the dictator to remain president for a further eight years with any democratic legitimization.

The military have promised to respect the will of the people.

The events of recent years are reason enough for doubts about this in Santiago and elsewhere in the world.

If the military stick to their word Pinochet will have to leave the La Moneda Palace to make way for a successor elected by the people in 1990.

This does not mean that he will lose power. As commander-in-chief of the army, senator for life, and member of the national security council — all guaranteed by his constitution — he will still keep his finger on the pulse of political life in Chile.

Although the gradual liberalisation of recent weeks, the defeat of the dictator at the polls, and international political pressure give rise to optimism they by no means signify the final victory of democracy. The extent of the army's trying for power is still a factor of great uncertainty.

Another highly significant question is whether the opposition groups have more in common than just their rejection of the Pinochet regime.

(Allgemeine Zeitung, Munich, 7 October 1988)

WORLD AFFAIRS

The Serbs and Yugoslavia's centrifugal tendencies

DIE WELT
Internationale Tageszeitung für Politik und Kultur

Eight years after the death of Tito, who was able to maintain a balance and in the Communist party and who heavily suppressed centrifugal tendencies, Yugoslavia is faced by the risk of disintegration.

Conflicts are flaring up which are similar to those which led to the fall of the Yugoslav monarchy following Hitler's invasion in 1941. Fortunately, there are today no signs of outside threats.

In the West no political power is interested in the breaking up of Yugoslavia. The more despairing and hopeless the economic and social situation of broad sections of the population in Serbia, the greater its readiness to replace unattainable economic objectives by "national" goals.

This explains why the demands by Serbia's new Communist party leader, Slobodan Milosevic, for a "re-establishment of Serbian sovereignty" over the separated autonomous provinces enjoy such mass popularity.

Old ideals are revived, for example, that the Serbian people have a mission to maintain Yugoslavia's unity, even if the other South Slavonic (Yugoslav) nations and especially the non-Slavonic groups of the population such as the Albanians or Hungarians take a different view.

By unleashing or at least approvingly tolerating a mass movement Milosevic has not only turned himself into a

Serbia that "the Croat and former Austrian serbian and agent of the Communist Internationale by the name of Tito deliberately tried to keep contain and humiliate the Serbs, who had made great sacrifices during the two world wars, when creating the Communist Yugoslavia."

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Strougal out: no blank Czech for change

According to an old saying, in the world of the blind the one-eyed man is king.

The ousted Czechoslovakian Prime Minister Lubomir Strougal was certainly no adventurous reformer.

After all, he performed his government duties in Prague for 18 years without changing the ossified system.

Nevertheless, he was apparently too reform-minded for the Czechoslovakian Communist party leadership.

Because of his close contacts with industry, he knew better than party officials that Czechoslovakia is economically falling behind.

A tough pay policy has been helping the country avoid the chaos of neighbouring Poland.

The events of recent years are reason enough for doubts about this in Santiago and elsewhere in the world.

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This does not mean that he will lose power. As commander-in-chief of the army, senator for life, and member of the national security council — all guaranteed by his constitution — he will still keep his finger on the pulse of political life in Chile.

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Another highly significant question is whether the opposition groups have more in common than just their rejection of the Pinochet regime.

(Dieter Schröder, Süddeutsche Zeitung, Munich, 15 October 1988)

tribune of the people. Whether he realises it or not he is destroying the Yugoslav political system.

Demands by Serbian demonstrators to put the leading Communist party officials on trial before a "people's court" already show which way the wind is blowing.

Lenin had good reason to warn his Communist comrades against the movement's "spontaneity."

Once the floodgates are opened they are difficult to close, unless, of course, with the help of Stalinist methods.

The other republics in Yugoslavia are appalled by the Serbian mass movement.

There is concern in Croatia and Slovenia that the movement will edge its way westwards — a minority of 600,000 Serbs lives in Croatia — after already spreading to Vojvodina, Kosovo and Montenegro.

The ancient conflicts between the Catholic west (Slovenia and Croatia), the Orthodox east (Serbia) and the Islamic regions (Kosovo-Albania and Bosnia and Herzegovina) are again coming to the surface.

A rational political course should seek to raise the standard of living and improve the achievement orientation by means of the market economy and private property.

But that is not what is happening. Instead, Yugoslavia is drifting dangerously towards the risk of military dictatorship and civil war.

Carl Gustaf Ströhm
(Die Welt, Bonn, 11 October 1988)

patability of the market economy and the existing system of socialism.

Their observation of the development of perestroika in the Soviet Union and reforms in Hungary and Poland increase their scepticism.

They find that Gorbačov is an adventurer who is jeopardising the future of the socialist system.

Czech party leader think that, because of the country's unique position, caution is the best policy.

But for most Czechs, the Jakes government was imposed by a foreign power and it only managed to come to power with the help of direct military intervention.

Far-reaching economic reforms which disrupt the equilibrium of the market, therefore, could in themselves pose a threat to the Communist party.

A perestroika with glasnost, which criticises all the system's failings and the misdeeds of the party leadership would inevitably topple the existing government.

Under these circumstances it is understandable that the party leaders in Prague are trying to reinforce the role of the party and only willing to tolerate reforms providing they do not disturb the country's apathetic peace or upset the political system.

Julius Strougal
(Bundesblatt, Düsseldorf, 13 October 1988)

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23 October 1988

Count Otto Lambsdorff, 61, a former Bonn Economics Minister, has been elected chairman of the Free Democrats, the minority party in the federal coalition. He defeated one of the younger generation of Free Democrats, Irmgard Adam-Schwaetzer, 46, who holds a minor ministerial job in the Foreign Ministry, in the contest to replace Martin Bangemann, who has gone to Brussels. Count Lambsdorff has been involved in the Fleck affair in which the company was given tax concessions in return for donations to party funds. He was acquitted on corruption charges but convicted of evading tax. There was never any suggestion that any money was for his own use. Lambsdorff is on the right of the FDP. Here, Hans Peter Schütz; writing in the *Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt*, looks at what the change means for the FDP and the government in Bonn; and the Berlin daily, *Der Tagesspiegel*, looks at Lambsdorff and the background to his election.

Adam-Schwaetzer, who was elected deputy party chairman, scope to develop her political ideas.

There are other reasons which suggest that the fears expressed of a right-wing swing by the FDP in the event of Lambsdorff's victory are unwarranted.

At the conference, Lambsdorff listed a catalogue of domestic and legal issues to be tackled soon: amendment of the Data Protection Act, security laws, genetic engineering, reproductive medicine, embryo protection laws, nature conservation and reform of the health system.

He said the party will try to be receptive to social changes.

Franz Adam-Schwaetzer spoke of the FDP's new face.

Franzia Schmalz-Jacobsen remarked that she would not be able to feel politically at home in a party which shows no interest in social problems.

This will all have to be translated into practice.

This should also apply to Hildegard Hamm-Brücher, who — like other left-wing liberals — often tends to unleash partisan-style attacks on the FDP's legal and domestic policy line and then fall back into whining lamentations of the party's hopeless situation.

The FDP's Bundestag parliamentary party has a right-wing liberal majority. Frau Hamm-Brücher's initial reaction to Count Lambsdorff's election suggests that she is not convinced that the best means of achieving a more liberal FDP policy lies in cooperation in the presidium rather than confrontation.

Perhaps Count Lambsdorff will be able to remind Justice Minister Engelhardt that he was appointed minister on an FDP ticket.

Count Lambsdorff does not want to be a disruptive factor in the coalition. A bit more disruption in his own party, however, would do the party good.

Hans Peter Schütz
(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, Bonn, 16 October 1988)

They're counting on this pair: Lambsdorff (left) and his deputy, Adam-Schwaetzer.

(Photo: Aten Simon)

Party decision reflects vote for experience

Count Lambsdorff wants much more coordination between the FDP ministers in the Bonn government.

He has already come to an arrangement with Genscher. Lambsdorff wants to keep his nose out of foreign policy and wants Genscher to keep his out of running the party.

Together with Baum and the young regional party chairman Walter Hirsch (Lower Saxony) and Wolfgang Ger-

inghoff (Bremen), he has been able to bring about a political alliance in the presidium.

This is a political alliance which we hoped for under Irmgard Adam-Schwaetzer. Giving vent to personal disappointment about the outcome of the election in this way

is a personal career setback in the interests of the party and then vigorously worked his way back up the party ladder.

He wanted to underline that, although this is a personal career setback, it also served to keep the peace within the party.

So, the advent of a new generation at the head of the FDP did not take place.

Although many will be disappointed at this, it need not hurt the party.

But Lambsdorff will need more than just his characteristic single-mindedness to guide the party. Does he have a talent for integrating the executive?

His surprisingly narrow victory over Frau Adam-Schwaetzer (211 to 187) is an obvious mandate for close cooperation between the various factions.

Lambsdorff will have to give Frau

HOME AFFAIRS

Free Democrats choose Lambsdorff as chairman

Adam-Schwaetzer, who was elected deputy party chairman, scope to develop her political ideas.

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Hans Peter Schütz
(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, Bonn, 16 October 1988)

If the party were to be one-sidedly geared to Lambsdorff's strong personality, its electoral potential would primarily lie among the CDU and CSU voters. This would not be welcomed in the coalition.

Its liberal stance on law and order makes it a rival to the SPD.

Lambsdorff's clear support for a continuation of the Bonn coalition was no mere compulsory exercise. A seesawing policy is not his style.

■ EAST BERLIN

Communist officials know that it's best to keep lid tightly shut

God bestows wisdom upon those in high office, goes an old saying. But, God or no God, that wisdom soon vanishes if those officials are not constantly under public control.

This explains why all dictatorships are sooner or later doomed to failure.

Where is the collective wisdom of the East German leadership? In the year 1988 it is still using means of 20 to 30 years ago to retain its power.

The East Berlin party leader, Erich Honecker, claims that a great deal of what can be seen and heard in western television and radio is false. They didn't happen.

There is no growing unrest; there is no protest there against a state which says it doesn't need *glavnost* and *perestroika*.

A power struggle is allegedly taking place in the highest echelon of the Communist party leadership and the street-fighting in East Berlin shown in western TV reports is regarded by some as the public manifestation of this struggle.

Although this cannot be ruled out such a direct connection is more a case of wishful thinking.

Some Politburo members already seem to be convinced that Gorbachov's reforms will not be successful. Others are not quite so certain.

Most of the old men in the East Berlin leadership nevertheless have something in common: they all grew up in

the world of the "dictatorship of the proletariat", in which every trick in the book was used to defend the single truth.

For these veterans even an extremely cautious pluralism is inconceivable, especially in the state-controlled media.

Like almost no other institution in East Germany, the media have been subjected to extremely strict censorship and control.

The idea of the press could become a kind of watchdog of government activities is simply unimaginable to the powers that be.

The church can (could?) cushion the pressure to leave. It was able to find enough air to breathe in certain fields. If this is taken away many people will only

continue to read the church press. Now, however, the authorities are cutting off the supply of fresh air.

For fear of losing its own power the state dismisses a clear offer made by the church.

The Protestant Church in East Germany has a vital interest in persuading actual and potential churchgoers not to leave the country, people who would probably prefer to stay put under different circumstances.

The church can (could?) cushion the pressure to leave. It was able to find enough air to breathe in certain fields. If this is taken away many people will only

Continued on page 8

An iron curtain descends behind activist

Two months ago, a civil rights campaigner from East Berlin called Birbel Bohley became the symbol of what seemed to be an apparent wind of change in the treatment of dissidents by the East Germans.

She took part in a protest in East

Germany in January and then was discreetly ushered out of the country to spend several months in Britain.

Then, with equal discretion, she was ushered back into East Germany via Prague. Frau Bohley, however, who attached such importance to remaining a symbol of East Germany, soon got a taste of her rights her status brings.

On 8 October she was refused permission to go back to Prague for a visit.

Banning visits by members of protest and ecological movements to meet like-minded protesters in socialist brother countries is nothing unusual in East Germany.

In Birbel Bohley's case, however, the refusal has a demonstrative character.

It is a slap in the face for the optimism triggered by her voluntary return.

It also again draws public attention to an affair on which, thanks to Frau Bohley's restraint, dust had begun to settle.

The action of the East Berlin authorities can hardly be interpreted as anything else but a confirmation of the rigid course against dissidents.

By subjecting church journals to censorship the state only achieves the opposite of what it wants.

Only a few subscribers of the church magazine would have normally read the controversial sentence in the prayer.

The publicity surrounding its censorship has made the whole affair all too clear for those with eyes to see.

(Die Zeit, Hamburg, 14 October 1988)

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Embassy sit-in 7 sentenced for trying to get to West

An East Berlin court has handed down suspended sentences of between eight and 18 months with two years' probation on seven East Germans who occupied the Danish embassy in the city in the hope of being allowed to travel to the West.

The ambassador should have at least tried to obtain the official guarantee of the East Berlin authorities that the seven men would not be punished for their action.

Apart from the fact that spectacular acts such as the occupation of embassies, which have occurred quite often in the past in East Germany, are unable to solve problems, the Danish government has been brought into discredit by the reaction of the Danish ambassador in this particular case.

After the seven men had refused the offer by the East Berlin authorities to assure them exemption from punishment if they left the embassy peacefully the ambassador had them forcefully thrown out of the building.

They were then immediately arrested by the state security police waiting outside. Gone was the memory of those brave Danes who gave help to the victims of persecution in the war under German occupation.

The court accused them of "trespassing" and of "interfering with state or social activities".

Despite the suspended sentences on probation it is clear that the court's verdict intended as a kind of psycho-terror to deter others from taking similar action in the future.

It is more than doubtful whether this will be effective. The only real solution is to make life worth living in East Germany.

The steps taken against church magazines and western journalists, however, suggest that there is little hope for any improvement in the near future.

(Hans Nauheimer) (Nordwest Zeitung, Oldenburg, 13 October 1988)

One little word gets up the official nostrils

DIE ZEIT

Yet again television in the Federal Republic has been showing East Berlin state security police jostling and beating their way through demonstrators and camera teams.

The first lasted from the end of the war until sometime in the 1960s. The shattering experience of the 1933-45 era together with enlightened US post-war policy and the generosity of individual Americans led many Germans, especially young ones, to view the United States as a model.

It is once again the uglier side of East Germany which is surfacing. This time the trouble is one word: *Erneuerung* (renewal).

The East German Communist leaders are apparently so offended by the word that they are willing to let their international reputation plummet rather than hear or read it.

The word dropped up in a petitionary prayer planned for publication in the church magazine *Die Kirche*.

The State Press Office complained about the sentence in which God's help was petitioned for the country's renewal.

A silent march of protest against the prayer's censorship was prevented by the police and the state security service.

The western media reported 50 arrests. The (East) state newsagency later referred to 80 people who had been taken into custody for identification and already set free.

The president of the Protestant Church Council in East Germany, Manfred Stolpe, feels that the church is a go-between in the dialogue about problems which officially do not exist: the desire to leave the country, environmental pollution, demands for legal rights and democratic participation.

By subjecting church journals to censorship the state only achieves the opposite of what it wants.

The latest attempts to prevent TV coverage by western media of the ecumenical conference of East German religious groups in Magdeburg show that the state uses every opportunity to demonstrate its inflexibility on the question of dissidents.

Only a few subscribers of the church magazine would have normally read the controversial sentence in the prayer.

The publicity surrounding its censorship has made the whole affair all too clear for those with eyes to see.

(Die Zeit, Hamburg, 14 October 1988)

■ PERSPECTIVE

An affair of similarities and differences: an ambassador looks at two nations

I believe that in the post-World War II period, the German image of America and the American image of the Federal Republic have passed through three stages.

The first lasted from the end of the war until sometime in the 1960s. The shattering experience of the 1933-45 era together with enlightened US post-war policy and the generosity of individual Americans led many Germans, especially young ones, to view the United States as a model.

This was true across a broad spectrum of German society and extended even to many intellectuals. Thus, during the reconstruction of the 1950s, the United States left a major imprint on this country. The superficial similarities became so great that a visitor to almost any German city might imagine himself to be in the United States. On both sides, a myth developed about our relationship — the myth that we were becoming identical.

This was true across a broad spectrum of German society and extended even to many intellectuals. Thus, during the reconstruction of the 1950s, the United States left a major imprint on this country. The superficial similarities became so great that a visitor to almost any German city might imagine himself to be in the United States. On both sides, a myth developed about our relationship — the myth that we were becoming identical.

In short, there is growing evidence that a German identity is emerging — an identity defined neither by imitation nor by rejection of the United States.

But the German embrace of America in the 1950s was too uncritical and the German view of nearly every facet of American life too idealised. The American view was a mirror-image of the German — seeing so much that resembled the United States. Americans increasingly came to think of the Federal Republic as a "little America" that happened to be in Europe.

These views generated expectations that could not in the end be sustained. This led to a second stage in our post-war relationship. As the Federal Republic came near the end of its successful period of reconstruction, Germans began once again to think about their own identity, to debate about what it means and should mean to be a German.

Because Germans had defined so much of their postwar society according to American models, this debate over German identity was ironically conducted in large part over the quality of American life and American policy. The turmoil of the late 60s and the early 70s, triggered in part by the Vietnam War, divided America. But it had perhaps an even greater impact here. We in the United States lost a war. Many Germans, particularly younger ones, lost an ideal. Some people on both sides speculate that the two societies are moving apart, that the close cooperation which has characterised our postwar relationship up to now is inevitably doomed.

I cannot accept such a gloomy forecast. It is not a bad thing that Germans are regaining pride in their culture and history — that is a necessary step in the search for identity. It need not worry us that we are different in many ways. Our differences are simply a fact, a fact based on our different geography and historical experiences — and the implications of our differences are exactly the contrary of what the pessimists are saying.

Only course there are opportunities to fail as well as to succeed; and failure in the American system can be taught with great risks, especially since our social welfare net is by no means as comprehensive as the German. Risk-taking, however, is an accepted part of the American system. Businesses can fail in one venture and still be able to succeed in another. By comparison, Germans seem more risk-averse.

Fifth, the Federal Republic is a settled and stable society. By contrast, the United States continues to be a land of restless migrants. American geographic mobility is legendary. Nearly a fifth of the American population moves every year — a statistic many Germans have trouble believing.

Germans are less mobile, and that poses problems for businesses and regions seeking to take advantage of the opportunities created by technological change. Of course, there are also costs associated with American mobility. A developed sense of tradition and local community, so visible in the Federal Republic, often eludes us.

Second, though we are both diverse, we are different in our diversity. The texture of American society, based on a complex and ever-changing ethnic mix, has resulted in a richness of language, fine arts, life styles and approaches to problem-solving that is unique in the world.

Third, the Federal Republic is much more ethnically homogeneous. Its diversity stems from history and historical memory — and the extent of that diversity is reflected in the fact that the Federal Republic, almost alone among European countries, has not one, but a series of capital cities, one for politics, one for finance, one for trade, and one for the media. Every major German city provides national leadership in some area of life.

What characterises this new stage in the fact that Germans are now seeking and asserting their own identity distinct from the American model. There is a renewed interest in German history, a renewed pride in German culture, a renewed willingness openly to express a certain sense of German achievement in quite a few areas of life.

Third, though we share many common democratic institutions, our political systems work in different ways. The

German system is based on relatively centralised, relatively disciplined parties. The German politician advances by getting ahead in his party. This system serves to draw together the political debate, giving national, long-term policies a high priority in both domestic and foreign affairs.

The American political system is characterised by weak parties and decentralised power. The power bases of American politicians are individual and local. American politics reflects the diversity of the United States and projects that diversity into our national and international policy-making.

Fourth, our economic structures are different in important ways. German society is economically more homogeneous, providing nearly all its citizens with a high standard of living, a remarkable degree of job security and a reliable social-welfare net. German business seeks long-term success, security and, arguably, an "acceptable" as opposed to a maximum margin of profitability.

In America, wealth is less evenly distributed, but greater social flexibility encourages innovation, offers immense opportunities and allows our country to integrate more quickly larger numbers of immigrants into its society. Rags-to-riches stories are still an ordinary part of American life.

Of course there are opportunities to fail as well as to succeed; and failure in the American system can be taught with great risks, especially since our social welfare net is by no means as comprehensive as the German. Risk-taking, however, is an accepted part of the American system. Businesses can fail in one venture and still be able to succeed in another. By comparison, Germans seem more risk-averse.

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Sixth and finally, American geographic mobility is matched by an almost equal degree of social mobility; both vertical and horizontal. This unique American quality produces societal tensions and occasional strife, but it also means greater opportunity and more innovation.

Cross-fertilisation among different professions is especially common in the United States. Lawyers become businesspeople. Businessmen become heads of universities. Professors found companies. Movie actors become politicians, even statesmen. It seems to me that Germans, by contrast, tend to enter a career early and stay with it.

There are of course advantages to this — the veteran German Beamer, politician or business executive, will bring to his job a professionalism, a set of skills and a historical perspective that

equip him to take the "long view" of changing developments. There is thus greater continuity in German decision-making than in the United States, where officials move in and out of government and executives change jobs more quickly; and are therefore often inclined to short-term thinking and seeking the "quick fix" for problems.

I can best sum up our essential differences by suggesting that the more ordered and less mobile German society promotes a feeling of community and a sense of belonging. When the welfare state is added to the equation, the result is a highly developed sense that the outcome of all social interactions should ultimately be "fair".

America, socially, economically and politically, is a much more rough-and-tumble place. Not all the participants will achieve the same result. But our society certainly generates opportunities for them to try. In short, where German society stresses the need for fairness, American society emphasises opportunity.

The recognition that we are not the same is important if we are to understand why from time to time we respond differently to the same developments. Equally important, I believe, it is also the best reason we have for preserving and strengthening our relationship.

Our common strategic interests make German-American cooperation necessary. Our common political values make cooperation possible. But it is our citizens who are the driving force. Some people on both sides of the Atlantic find this disturbing. A number of observers speculate that the resurgence of German culture and German pride means that the two societies are moving apart, that the close cooperation which has characterised our postwar relationship up to now is inevitably doomed.

These views generated expectations that could not in the end be sustained. This led to a second stage in our relationship. As the Federal Republic came near the end of its successful period of reconstruction, Germans began once again to think about their own identity, to debate about what it means and should mean to be a German.

First, we are different in size. America is a continent with few neighbours and protected by two oceans. The Federal Republic is geographically compact, surrounded by many neighbours. The result is that while the United States is tempted to go it alone, the Federal Republic is driven by the imperative of international cooperation.

■ THE CONSTRUCTION INDUSTRY

A boomlet is welcomed, but no one is certain how long it will last

The construction industry is enjoying prosperous times again, although it is not clear how long they will last. Housing is picking up after an exceptionally bad year last year when only 220,000 units were built. This compares with 674,000 units in 1973. Thomas Krämer reports for *Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt*.

Konrad Carl, chairman of the building workers union, was able to cheer up delegates at the union's conference in Nuremberg with some good news.

In an industry that has been in decline for years, they have got used to bad news. But construction is on the way up — even house-building, which had been in steady decline.

Economic experts say that the building industry has become a mainstay of the economic upswing.

Last year, there was a post-war record low in home-building when fewer than 220,000 units were built and the number of planning and building permits fell by 13 per cent to 190,000.

In the first half of this year alone 102,000 permits have been issued, 12 per cent up on the same period last year.

But neither the building industry as a whole nor the housing sector are out of the rough.

Despite the trend, growth is not enough to compensate for the lean years, and it is unclear if workers now can prepare for a long period of prosperity. It depends less on demand than on other factors. Demand for homes is increasing considerably.

In the boom city of Frankfurt there is no lack of companies prepared to pay over DM750 per square metre per month in the new skyscrapers going up in "Mainhattan" — Manhattan on the River Main.

They are prepared to pay their employees salaries so that they can afford up to DM20 a square metre in rent. But most of the people looking for houses or apartments are not so well off.

Who is going to build houses for people who do not have enough money to pay?

Helmut Schlich, managing director of the German Tenants Association, said: "There is no such thing as cheap, newly-built houses. If building costs are DM2,500 per square metre, shall we say, then the rent to cover costs must be DM20 a square metre."

The Deutscher Caritasverband, a Catholic charity has criticised building policies which put up luxury homes and demands that more "social dwellings" should be built, housing financed by the state or trade unions for rental to people with low incomes.

Those who have for years propagated the idea that there is no landlords market, only a tenants market, have come to realise that there is an urgent need for reasonably-priced accommodation.

The oft-quoted "magical" figure of a million houses standing empty has silently been let drop and is no longer referred to.

Even the notorious blocks of apartments that most cities have where people don't really want to live — dormitory towns such as Chorweiler in Cologne, Hamburg's Mümmelmannsberg — and Märkisches Viertel in Berlin, are almost full.

Oscar Schneider (CSU), Housing Min-

ister in Bonn, expects a "socially dangerous lack of housing" in flourishing major cities.

The opposition in Bonn, tenants organisations and experts have been warning of this for years.

What is decisive in the demand for housing is not the sinking population figure but the increasing number of households. The Housing Ministry estimates that over the next ten years these will increase by about 800,000.

The reasons for this are the increasing number of marriages ending in divorce, and the increase in the number of young people going to live on their own.

These figures do not include one factor that will wake Bonn politicians from their sleep: in this year alone 200,000 immigrants from the East Bloc are expected to arrive here.

There are at present three-million "social dwellings." This figure will have been halved by 1995, because the public loans for the houses have been paid back.

What to do? Central government and the *Länder* will have difficulties scraping together the funds for the emigrants programme in which 30,000 houses are to be built.

How will one cope with a doubling of the demand for housing by the year 2030, forecast in a pilot calculation by the Federal Housing Ministry?

This much is certain: the oft-quoted mechanism of owner demand and rent allowance is not sufficient to prevent creating a "two-thirds society" in the housing market; on the one hand a minority, who can always afford more lavish accommodation, and a majority who are more or less able to manage; and on the other hand a minority for whom even the most modest accommodation threatens to become unattainable luxury.

The policy in Bonn is that anyone who cannot afford high rents will be helped with a housing allowance. This is not enough by a long way. Even this year's rents and housing report shows this clearly.

German households apply almost 16 per cent of their disposable income on average for accommodation.

Among the low-paid 38 per cent is paid out for housing and this is only reduced to 21 per cent by the state's rent allowance — so five per cent above the average.

Apart from those involved, the sufferers are the cities and communities. Their social budgets will be strained even further.

If social hardship is not even avoided by rent allowance, then no additional accommodation will be provided for the socially disadvantaged.

A survey conducted by the German Institute for Urban Affairs, Berlin, reported that the "socially dangerous lack of ac-

commodation" was not the result of a fortuitous and transitory market development in just a few cities, but the manifestation of long-term structural trends, which can only be altered with difficulty.

Between 1970 and 1974 (the researchers have not offered more accurate dates) the figure of 42 people per thousand receiving social benefit doubled.

At the same time the number of reasonably-priced homes for them was reduced by pulling houses down, drastic rent increases after modernisation, conversions to owner-occupier accommodation and the termination of fixed rents for old, "social dwellings."

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The question arises: what is the state's responsibility? A lot of new thinking is necessary to see what "social dwellings" of the future will look like without making the mistakes of the past — but above all what are vital are state authorities which stand out through an economic handling of the budget and sensible expenditure policies, and which have not robustly themselves of their last possibilities for manoeuvre by further tax reductions for people who are mainly in the upper income bracket.

But when there is a crisis, and both sides have said there is a crisis, their conflicting interests are revealed.

Thomas Krämer

(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, Hamburg, 2 October 1988)

Thomas Krämer

(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, Hamburg, 2 October 1988)

Union votes not to accept the unemployed

site for the chairmanship but is not elected. A chance was missed."

There was approval when he said that more must be done to recruit white-collar workers and women. He said there was a disproportionate high number of older members.

Whereupon Karl-Peter Scheu, head of the union in Bad Wildungen, Hesse, said: "We have heard that women, white-collar workers and young people are our great challenge."

"But how do we act? A woman, also a white-collar worker, stands as a candid-

Workers split over their leadership



Lots of dissent . . . union chief Carl. (Photo: dpa)

Konrad Carl was re-elected chairman of the building workers union, IG Bau-Stein-Eden. But he polled 15 per cent fewer votes than three years ago.

Delegates at the union conference in Nuremberg explain this by saying that the vote last time was to show solidarity to the Federal Housing Ministry.

There had been internal turbulence. Left-wingers had appealed to the Supreme Court against the executive committee on questions about the union's statutes. To show their displeasure with the left, 95 per cent of the delegates then voted for Carl.

The atmosphere within the union is not good. The support for Carl is down. There were complaints at Nuremberg with words like "failings" and "neglect".

It shows that the union is having problems learning from its past. Many delegates are displeased with the leadership's path.

That the executive committee was said to be just acting in a routine manner was one of the more moderate complaints. More serious was the delegates' displeasure on the committee's policies in worker-employer relations which it, along with Carl, was pursuing. In good times the delegates sit in the same boat as the employers, and they benefit from this.

But when there is a crisis, and both sides have said there is a crisis, their conflicting interests are revealed.

Thomas Krämer

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 3 October 1988)

when you're out of work." Another quoted the Bible: "He that is without sin among you, let him cast the first stone."

But, despite these opinions, the vote produced a clear majority to leave the statutes as they are.

The majority attitude was: anyone who did not want to know about the union when he was working should not be able to join when he is unemployed. He can wait until he is again a wage-earner.

In practice the matter is rather different. An unemployed person who went to a union office would not be turned out. He is given advice and often membership application forms.

Some maintained that admitting the jobless would be good for the union's image. One young delegate said: "We would not then be able to say to someone unemployed who has not been member: you didn't join us in the past when you were working, so we're not accepting you now

■ FINANCE

In search of the meaning of 'social' in a social market economy

Germany's economy is often described as a "social market economy." It is a system that equally rejects the *laissez-faire* and dirigiste approaches. Basic Law, the Constitution, guarantees the rights to own property and to practise private enterprise; it also lays down certain principles of "social progress".

What does the "social" of the social market economy mean? Klaus Peter Krause decided to find out for himself about this hardy perennial. So he went to Freiburg, in the far south-west of Germany, where a group of economists were meeting. His report appeared in the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*.

It must have been music to Ludwig Erhard's ears. At a meeting of economists in Freiburg, his name was mentioned again and again — with recognition, honour and respect.

It was no wonder: the meeting was called 40 years after Erhard had freed the economy in the western part of Germany from the chains of government controls.

But the economists had not assembled merely to celebrate. They posed concrete questions about the "social market economy". An Erhard adviser, Alfred Müller-Armack, was quoted in Freiburg as saying that the main aim of the social market economy was to use the principle of the free market to achieve a linkage with "social equilibrium".

That is to the point and should be enough to reduce the differing standpoints to a common denominator. But it still cannot be said to be a concrete definition.

Harder concrete is offered by another economist, Walter Eucken, and Erhard himself. For Eucken, "social" meant first and foremost in efforts to limit economic and political power — but indirectly, through the economic system itself; but in addition through state-welfare organisations "in cases where self help and insurance are insufficient."

Harder concrete is offered by another economist, Walter Eucken, and Erhard himself. For Eucken, "social" meant first and foremost in efforts to limit economic and political power — but indirectly, through the economic system itself; but in addition through state-welfare organisations "in cases where self help and insurance are insufficient."

There are few terms which are so basically vapid and yet so popularly turned to so many uses. Some years ago,



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■ RETAILING

Dial-your-groceries firm trips on crossed lines

Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger

Setting up in business is not often plain sailing. Moving into new terrain can make it even tougher.

Monika Donath discovered this when she registered Martins Telekauf GmbH in May in Bergisch Gladbach, near Cologne. It was one of the first companies in the country to offer shopping by telephone.

Anyone unable or unwilling to go shopping can have their groceries delivered at a cost of five marks.

The idea seems simple, but in practice there were difficulties that Frau Donath had never dreamed of.

First, there were delays in getting a telephone, clearly essential for this business. Eventually, after much badgering, the business was allocated a number, which was printed on company brochures and in the shopping catalogue.

Then, at short notice, the number was changed. So the catalogue was wrong.

The next blow came a few days later when the Martins Telekauf EDV equipment went wild and the computer refused to print out bills for deliveries.

She sorted that out. The next surprise was that many callers did not want to order groceries. Instead they wanted to make inquiries about the business to imitate it.

Frau Donath: "There were 100 people at least, mostly unemployed, who simply wanted to copy us."

Her idea has been put into operation in the Mainz area.

The real problem is that the new way of shopping by telephone has not properly established itself yet. Frau Donath speaks of the inhibitions customers must overcome. All their lives they have only known the direct form of shopping.

As credit facilities in the foodstuffs industry are very tight, a large number of regular customers are essential along with high turnover.

Although the area Martins Telekauf (from Leverkusen, Bergisch Gladbach and to the suburbs of Cologne on the right bank of the Rhine, Overath, Rösrath up to Troisdorf) includes about a million people, the company is only making between 30 and 50 delivery rounds per day. Frau Donath could only hope to get into the black with 100 a day.

Martins Telekauf has done better in the average turnover per customer — at present it is DM110; the company had set its sights on DM120.

The span of the cash spent on purchases extends from DM11.75 to DM1200.

Once the entire stock of champagne was ordered for an evening soiree, organised at short notice; sometimes customers just want a couple of dairy product items for the weekend.

But most orders are for normal grocery supplies. Frau Donath said that so far no one in Leverkusen had ordered a single egg.

Customers' reactions have been mostly positive. Half of the 3,000 regular customers are old people who are only too happy when someone else buys their heavy shopping bags home.

People complain about the prices; they point out that goods are cheaper at Aldi, a nationwide chain of low-priced grocery supermarkets. Frau Donath maintains that

her prices are the usual supermarket prices.

One mother rang up to say she had saved a lot of money through the service: "When I go shopping with my three children, they load my trolley with a lot of things I don't want and I overspend."

Martins Telekauf takes the order and buys only what is on the list.

Many callers have complained that the range of goods in the catalogue is too limited. It seemed 2,000 items was not enough. That has been enlarged to 2,500.

The nature of demand has also meant a change in the goods on offer: diabetic and health foods have been included and, because of surprisingly low demand, the wines and spirits list has been trimmed. Demand for fresh meat was greater than expected.

Supplies are drawn from Rewe Rhein-Sieg, the chain-store owners, who have a shareholding in the shopping-by-telephone company.

Although Frau Donath and her husband, Klaus, have to work 16 hours per day, including weekends, they are still enthusiastic about the enterprise.

In company with market researchers they are convinced that their idea is viable, because the proportion of elderly people in the population will increase in the future.

Ideas for extra business are being investigated. The company will supply to firms, taking part in exhibitions, in the Cologne fair complex, which have to entertain their personnel or guests.

The company will provide baskets of delicacies as birthday gifts, and food parcels over Christmas to East Germany and Poland.

Whether customers will make use of the service in large numbers is an open question. Shopping by telephone in this country is in its infancy — contrary to other European countries.

It is not surprising then that among Martins Telekauf customers there are many Dutch and Belgians, living in the Cologne area. They can do their shopping now here, by telephone, a system they have been used to at home in Holland and Belgium for a long time.

*Jürgen Svenzenburger
(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger,
Cologne, 7 October 1988)*

Continued from page 4

be able to choose between total resignation or the attempt to somehow get out of the country.

The Communist party functionaries know that major social upheavals only take place in dictatorships; when the safety-valves of social protest are slightly opened, not when they are kept sealed. This political fact of life contradicts the laws of physics.

The repression of East Berlin leadership, therefore, does possess an apparent logic.

Even Gorbachov would probably tolerate the frosty rejection of his *perestroika* by a brother party if East Germany stays peaceful and keeps working hard.

Yet even Gorbachov's reforms get bogged down, public admissions of massive faults of Eastern European regimes make it impossible to return to old methods as if nothing had happened.

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People complain about the prices; they point out that goods are cheaper at Aldi, a nationwide chain of low-priced grocery supermarkets. Frau Donath maintains that



(Photo: BHL)

Self-service outlets are slowly suffocating the corner store

Many children of the 1980s only know from museums or as toys the old corner shop where the owner served the customer.

Thirty years ago there were 145,621 small shops in Germany. Now there are 74,311. The blame can be placed on ideas imported from the United States: self-service.

In 1938, businessman Herbert Ekhöf and his brother-in-law, Hugo Hefeldt, looked at how they could get maximum performance with the minimum of cost and labour. They looked across the Atlantic and saw the answer.

There, customers had already been serving themselves for 20 years. Clarence Saunders opened the first self-service shop in Memphis, Tennessee, in 1917.

Ekhöf picked up the idea. He ran a pilot venture in Oggersheim, a district of Ludwigshafen, and in Ludwigshafen itself. The first self-service shop was opened in Osnabrück on 24 February 1939.

War and the reconstruction period after the war hampered the spread of the idea but it regained momentum during Germany's economic miracle, particularly in the 1970s, when the trend towards concentration speeded up a lot.

Public applause for Ekhöf's development 50 years ago was restrained. Consumers today also have little praise for this form of shopping.

GfK-Marktforschung, a Nuremberg-based market research organisation, asked 1,000 women four years ago and again last year what upset them most when they went shopping.

In both surveys two-thirds complained of the long time they had to wait at the check-out.

In 1983 a good third of those questioned complained about the impersonal atmosphere in supermarkets; four years later 44 per cent made the same complaint.

More than a quarter of the women complained that too few personnel were on hand. Four years previously only 17 per cent voiced irritation about this.

The attitude of employees in supermarkets has also changed. In 1983 only 18 per cent of the women took offence at the unfriendly attitude of supermarket personnel. Last year more than a quarter mentioned this.

The employees' attitude is hardly surprising. They have to work for eight hours a day in an atmosphere that is becoming ever more impersonal. Customers are only at the mercy of this atmosphere for half an hour.

Christine Skowronowski
(Frankfurter Rundschau, 12 October 1988)

■ SPACE RESEARCH

Russians look for German scientific help in attempt to reach Mars

Süddeutsche Zeitung

In 1820, mathematician and astronomer Carl Friedrich Gauss made an unusual suggestion.

He urged that an oversized wheat field in Siberia was grown in the form of a right-angled triangle.

Gauss wanted the huge field, fenced in by trees, to be visible from a great height.

His intention was to indicate to the intelligent beings he believed existed on Mars that earthlings possessed an advanced knowledge of mathematics.

The Gaussian notion of the existence of intelligent beings on Mars has proved incorrect.

Nevertheless, the (East and West German) great-grandchildren of the brilliant mathematician have still got their sights trained on Mars — regardless of the costs and even though there are probably more important problems to solve for mankind than making it possible for men to land on some distant planet.

Apart from their participation in the technologically sophisticated Phobos project, during which two space probes will be launched to observe the Mars moon Phobos, West German space researchers want to be more than just onlookers when the Soviet Union takes even more steps towards making the conquest of Mars a realistic proposition.

Over the same period the shop-space taken up by these supermarkets increased from 250,000 to eight million square metres, and turnover shot up from DM500m to DM500m.

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In their interplanetary research activities the Soviets are apparently willing to share their scientific findings and costs with other countries.

The DFVLR's high-resolution system also allows a differentiation of the different chemical and mineralogical surface strata.

A visit to a DFVLR workshop in Oberpfaffenhofen by a high-ranking delegation from the Moscow space research institute IKI confirmed how much importance the Soviets attach to the West German contributions.

The Russian scientists showed a keen interest in the possible German activities in the 1994 Mars mission.

Although the head of the institute, Raold Sagdeyev, had to return to Moscow to help manage a crisis caused by an operating error at the ground station which led to a temporary loss of control of the space probe *Phobos 1*, the deputy head of the IKI institute, Henrik Avanesov, confirmed "the great interest of the USSR in independent German space experiments."

The Max Planck Institute of Chemistry in Mainz also stands a good chance of becoming involved in the 1994 mission.

The institute would like to install sophisticated analysis systems in the Mars module vehicle to examine the planet's surface.

The range of instruments include an X-ray fluorescent analyser, a device to pick up alpha rays, and a neutron spectrometer which can detect water to a depth of up to one metre below ground level.

The Mars researchers not only hope to find traces of water beneath the planet's surface, but perhaps traces of simple life forms — a major argument for the Mars expedition.

The German researchers at the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft in Mainz want to make sure that they keep pace with international developments in this field.

In a special memorandum they called for the allocation of funds for "the development and provision of and participation in experiments for coming missions as well as involvement in the analysis of samples brought back from Mars."

Rock samples from Mars, however, are unlikely to be brought back to Earth until the 1998 mission at the earliest.

A landing module could collect the Mars rocks, transport them into the Mars orbiter and then back to Earth.

The 1998 flight will also be a dress rehearsal for a Mars landing by cosmonauts at a later date, probably some time between the year 2010 and 2015.

Henrik Avanesov, one of the leading Soviet experts on space travel, made it clear in Oberpfaffenhofen how serious the Soviet Union takes this project.

He outlined the long-term goals of the extensive Russian Mars programme, which the Soviet Union intends completing even if this cannot be achieved by the current generation of scientists.

Before the first human being can set foot on the surface of our neighbouring planets, however, a number of still unresolved technical problems must be overcome, above all, the question of safe transport to and from Mars.

In this project Soviet engineers want to set up a space station in orbit around Mars and send a fully automated and remote-controlled "Mars-rover" to explore the surface.

Even *Energija*, the huge Soviet carrier rocket, could only launch part of the necessary payload for such a Mars mission into space despite its lifting capacity of roughly 100 tons. Other thrust systems will have to be developed.

The renowned American physicist Van Allen, whose country lags several years behind the Soviet Union in the field of Mars research, strictly refuses to talk of manned Mars missions "as long as we are not able to transport smaller payloads into space."

Most Soviet and American scenarios, therefore, suggest overcoming the obstacle of the earth's gravitation by putting an interplanetary spacecraft into the earth's orbit, which could then be fuelled and launched.

The immense costs of a manned Mars mission represents a further obstacle.

Experts at the American space authority NASA estimate that over \$100bn would probably be needed for such a mission.

Even in the event of the envisaged cooperation between the Soviet Union and the USA as well as other Western European countries the amount is still likely to act as a disincentive to project participation (at least in the West).

Worries

Many Congressmen in the USA are worried that exaggerated costs for a Mars programme could only be provided at the expense of essential social programmes.

Other western politicians fear that there will be an unacceptable extent of technology transfer between West and East, which would benefit the Soviet Union more than the western industrialised countries.

Finally, sceptics also point towards a further barrier to manned missions to Mars: the unpredictability of human nature.

It is still not clear whether human beings can take the physical and psychological strain of a space flight lasting almost two years.

Excessive isolation, coping with nerve-racking stress situations, zero gravity in space, and perhaps an unforeseeable exposure to radiation are just some of the risks.

During comparable projects in remote regions of our own planet — such as polar expeditions — individuals who had to live in isolation and under considerable stress frequently showed violent and uncontrolled reactions.

Rüdiger Schwerthöffer
(Süddeutsche Zeitung, Munich, 3 October 1988)

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Benzol is one of the 20 most toxic solvents. It is known to cause leukaemia. The trade association of the German chemical industry has produced a brochure aimed at helping benzol producers ensure that none leaks into the air during manufacture.

About 50,000 tons of it a year do find their way into the atmosphere; 42,000 tons are produced by vehicle exhaust fumes.

The atmospheric benzol concentrations in urban areas with major traffic problems are often four times higher than the atmosphere's natural benzol content.

Representatives of the oil industry play down the risks involved when breathing in benzol-polluted air.

Klaus Klinknick, research department head at the German Scientific Mineral Oil, Natural Gas and Coal Association (DGMK), an institute mainly financed by industry, assures the public that benzol emissions do not represent a health risk to the average citizen.

The oil industry's trade association claims that even petrol pump attendants, whose working environment can be classed as benzol-contaminated, are exposed to benzol concentrations of at most one ppm (part per million) — one part benzol to every million parts of air.

The association also points out that field surveys on workers have shown that cancerous diseases were only confirmed above a benzol concentration level of 100 ppm.

Richard Ott, manager of the Shell Chemie in Eschborn, says benzol is not highly carcinogenic.

He says that in view of its extensive incidence benzol is not relevant as a health-risk product. "otherwise we would all no longer be alive today."

THE ENVIRONMENT

Warning over levels of cancer-causing chemical

The Shell Chemie is the marketing headquarters of the biggest German benzol producer, the Deutsche Shell AG.

Its refinery in Godorf near Cologne produces 400,000 tons of benzol each year.

Richard Ott is an important man in this branch. Ott, for example, assumed general responsibility for the completion of the Benzol Report of the Advisory Committee on Residue Environmental Pollutants (BUA), a report commissioned by the Bonn government.

The BUA consists of scientists, experts from the chemical industry, Federal Environment Office and Environment Ministry officials, who began several years ago to examine certain chemical substances they suspected of causing health as well as polluting the environment.

Since it was set up in 1982 the BUA has finalised checks on 18 substances. The committee found its nineteenth report particularly tough going. The report dealt with benzol.

The first draft version of the report submitted by the Shell Chemie was thwarted in the spring due to "substantial misgivings" on the part of the independent toxicologists represented in the BUA.

There were doubts about the data on the benzol emissions of internal combustion (Otto) engines, figures which in-

dustry had already refused to accept for many years.

The Federal Environment Office had sealed down the figure from 50,000 tons in 1982 to a current level of 42,000 tons "on the basis of exact studies."

In the words of Helmut Greim, a toxicologist at the Swiss Radiation and Environmental Research Society, a "tremendous amount."

The toxicologists in the BUA also torpedoed plans by the Shell Chemie to fix thresholds for benzol concentrations in the report.

They vehemently rejected the idea that surveys on workers exposed to benzol concentrations permit conclusions to be drawn about the health risk of a carcinogenic substance.

Helmut Greim emphasised that "carcinogenic is carcinogenic, even if there are only small amounts in the air."

A compromise was finally agreed on in the report. The expertise now refers to the figures laid down by the American health authority OSHA.

The OSHA lowered the tolerable benzol thresholds in the working environment from 100 to 10 ppm between 1941 and 1973.

In 1987 it forwarded a provisional recommendation for a benzol threshold of one ppm. According to the DGMK one ppm corresponds roughly to the benzol content of the air inhaled by motorists when they tank up their vehicles.

Studies published so far, however, only relate to surveys on workers who are exposed on average for ten years, eight hours a day and five days a week to benzol-contaminated air.

Scientists lay down much lower thresholds for the lifelong intake of benzol.

The Regional Emission Protection Office (LIS) in Essen introduced a threshold figure of ten micrograms of benzol per cubic metre of air into the discussion, which is much lower than a hundredth ppm of benzol.

In many city centres the atmosphere's benzol pollution already lies somewhere between a level of 13 and 22 micrograms in comparison with roughly 0.5 micrograms in rural areas.

According to the LIS Report 36, the most highly benzol-polluted town in North Rhine-Westphalia is Castrop-Rauxel, with an annual average of 21.4 micrograms of benzol per cubic metre of air, closely followed by Bottrop (18.7) and Duisburg-Meiderich (18.7) and Düsseldorf (16.9).

The highest figures of up to 59.4 micrograms were recorded in a residential area close to a coking plant in Esen-Katernberg.

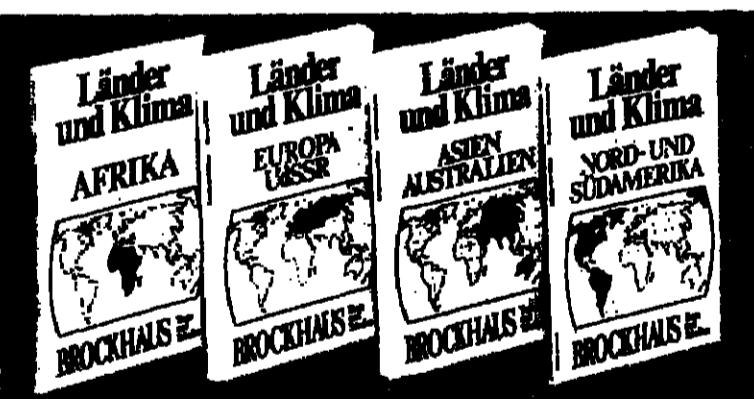
Adjusted production processes and environmental stipulations, however, have managed to reduce the volume of pollutants.

In 1984, for example, roughly 2.5 million tons of sulphur dioxide, three million tons of nitrogen oxides, 0.7 million tons of dust, 7.4 million tons of carbon monoxide and 1.8 million tons of organic compounds were emitted during production, the generation of electricity and district heating and as a result of traffic and domestic heating.

With the exception of the nitrogen oxides the emission levels were substantially lower than those recorded during the 1960s, even though GNP increased by over a half during this period. (dpa/wd)

Look it up in Brockhaus

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supplied the data arranged in see-at-a-glance tables in these new reference works. They include details of air and water temperature, precipitation, humidity, sunshine, physical stress of climate, wind conditions and frequency of thunderstorms.

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■ HORIZONS

Euro flavour to architecture competition

A conference of young architects was organised in Berlin by Berlin's Senator for Housing, Georg Wittwer, to coincide with the first "European" competition.

Senator Wittwer said that the opening of "European" was the first step to a Single European Market and the beginning of joint thinking about "housing."

"European" originates from the French architecture competition Programme d'Architecture Nouvelle (PAN) which has been organised 14 times altogether since 1972.

Nine European countries took part in "European": Belgium, France, Greece, Italy, the Netherlands, Austria, Spain, Switzerland and the Federal Republic.

Each country invited competitors to contribute to the same theme. The architects themselves could choose to which country they submitted their designs.

One Berlin architect said: "At last one can design a house for Sicily without insulation."

The theme selected for the first competition entries for "European" was "Development of Housing and Architecture."

Jean Melieu, president of "European" and president of the Centre National d'Art et de Culture Georges Pompidou, said at the opening ceremony that it was hoped "European" would revitalise architecture, produce new ideas from the difficulties with German history. It was a matter of projects rather than problems.

The competition should also give some indication as to whether the idea "home and housing" should be re-defined in view of changes in family life, for instance, and the tendency of young people to share accommodation, and whether there was a special identity in European housing forms.

It was not intended to create a new movement and certainly not a uniform European style.

The European tradition of dialogue should lead to a confrontation of experiences and show how homogeneous European culture was, on the one hand, how considerable regional characteristics and differences were, on the other.

Hungarian writer Gyorgy Konrad warned of replacing the individual characteristics of Europe in favour of a standardised Europe. If people have to subordinate themselves to the whole, such as a united Europe, it would have to be paid for in creative powers.

Konrad spoke of "systematic pauperisation." He said that in Hungary, as well as in Central Europe as a whole, beautiful parts of cities which could be renovated were destroyed to make way for new buildings, villages for built-up areas.

This has been discontinued in Hungary but, as is well known, this is still happening in Romania. Konrad said that "they want to destroy 7,000 villages, 7,000 slices of history, which are of cultural value."

People involved in urban development and water-supply experts have a reason for advocating the ruination of a long stretch of the Danube.

They say that destruction in Central Europe is not willful; they act from a belief in technical progress.

Konrad invited architects to respect the past as they would respect an elderly person. He made a plea for the pedestrian

and the city which bore in mind the pedestrian's interests.

He said that people in Europe preferred to walk, and a European was a person who had some inkling about the place where he lived, because he could go for a walk in the neighbourhood, along a promenade or beside a river.

Jürgen Echternach, parliamentary state secretary at the Ministry of Housing and Town Planning and Hardt-Walther Hämer, an architect and director of the Society for Civic Restoration in the Kreuzberg district of Berlin, both spoke at the opening of the young architects' conference.

Echternach headed the jury that selected Italian Aldo Rossi to be the architect for the Historical Museum which is to be built in Berlin.

Rossi was chosen by the jury because his style was "European" and followed tradition.

Echternach was also vice-president of the "European" competition. He said that the competition was an opportunity of judging our abilities to see reality. The meeting of young architects was a good opportunity to begin this competition.

He said that the architect was today challenged to take into consideration emotional factors.

He must not only be economical with the builder's money but also with nature: to build with ecological considerations in mind called for new forms of construction. Echternach lay great store in the variety of architecture that Europe has to offer.

Hardt-Walther Hämer regards the discussion about the Historical Museum in Berlin as a symptom of the politicians' desire to avoid solving a problem and conceal it in architecture; in this case the difficulties with German history. It was a matter of projects rather than problems.

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Konrad invited architects to respect the past as they would respect an elderly person. He made a plea for the pedestrian

A strange quiet hangs over the street of violence

Hafenstrasse used to be a patrician residential street with an elevated view of the Elbe and Hamburg's harbour. Then the area went into decay. Today much of the area has been redeveloped and Hafenstrasse was included in gentrification plans. But then squatters moved in. Police tried to evict them but the squatters erected barricades. Police helicopters were even fired at. Hafenstrasse was for a time a no-go area. It now has become synonymous with violence. It symbolises either of two points of view: alternative life-styles versus brutish authorities or thugs versus weak government. Hamburg's Social Democrat administration under former mayor Klaus von Dohnanyi reached a compromise with the occupiers. Von Dohnanyi is no longer mayor. An uneasy peace still reigns. There have been spin-off outbursts of violence in other parts of Hamburg by people from the Hafenstrasse scene. Knut Teske went down to Hafenstrasse to see what was happening. He reports for the national daily, *Die Welt*.

For six years, the people and the police of Hamburg have had their attention fixed on the Hafenstrasse, a stretch of run-down houses in the port, overlooking the Elbe.

The occupants, originally protesting at plans to demolish the houses, have caused havoc in the city and were one reason for the resignation of Klaus von Dohnanyi as mayor earlier this year.

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■ FRONTIERS

Coffee grinders down the ages

The collection of coffee grinders belonging to machine engineer Jürgen Thiessen owes something to the former business manager of the Free Democratic Party, Günther Verheugen.

One night, several friends including Thiessen met in the cellar bar at the home of one of them and, in the convivial atmosphere, the topic of was coffee grinders emerged. Someone said that Verheugen had 350 of them.

That was the signal for Thiessen to go into action. First he acquired grinders belonging to his parents. Now he has about 150, both traditional and unusual.

There is, for example, a lady's travelling grinder, a model which ensured that lady was able to prepare a cup of familiar quality instead of having to assault the taste buds by partaking of that "terrible foreign stuff."

It all brings to mind Max Frisch's radio-play *Hiedermann and the Five Raisers*. Where can a person like the kitchen-owner, who is 58, go otherwise?

Anyone who senses the unspoken fear of the people living in the neighbourhood realises that the principle of being linked to the aggressor took hold a long time ago.

Something of this sort explains why posters or banners announcing solidarity with the house-occupiers dangle from the windows of homes in the vicinity.

The situation has become as dicey as that. The people in the neighbourhood take sides as a kind of life insurance.

This is also true for the way they dismiss with a wave of the hand all that the

quickly spread in popularity. Soon, the coffee grinder was part of every kitchen. The spirit of ingenuity rose to the occasion and new varieties of grinder soon appeared.

Around the turn of the century, some were even built with fan blades which drove in air to keep the grinder cool and prevent heat in the grinding process from destroying the aroma. Then there were

grinders shaped so they could be comfortably placed on the thighs. Others were constructed with attachments which enabled them to be fitted to heating coils and roasting plates from destroying the beans could be first roasted and then freshly ground.

The coffee grinders rotated on and on, faster and faster. Then came the Second World War. Coffee became scarce. Reich Propaganda Minister Josef Goebbels, who liked his cup of coffee, ground in the columns of the *Volkischer Beobachter* on 11 March 1939: "If you think about it, it is disgraceful that one should even have to consider the question, because there is no doubt at all that coffee is not an essential item of food. It is a pleasure to drink coffee, that was good for the health of the nation. That was the beginning of the end for the grinder. After the war, the grinder went through a revival of sorts. But by 1950, ready-ground coffee was already filling every fifth coffee cup. The trend was to continue.

Then there is a French grinder which found its way from Paris to Poland and then to an antique dealer in Stade, a town near Hamburg, where Thiessen came across it.

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When, in 1957, the first electric grinder came on to the market, the writing was on the wall for the hand grinder.

But Jürgen Thiessen has preserved a piece of cultural history in his home — a collection assembled from here and there, from antique shops and flea markets, from friends and relatives.

And, of course, if there is a power failure, he will always be able to put his manual pieces to work again.

But National Socialists despised the comfortable life, so if there was a shortage

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